1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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(This latter point will be further discussed in Chapter 6.) The village *tsu* organizations do continue to maintain a certain solidarity in the ceremonial, social, and political areas.

618 769 In Hsin Hsing the *tsu*, in terms of its actual activities, is very clearly a ceremonial group. As we will later see in greater detail, the *tsu* comes together for ancestor worship: sometimes for worship of an early ancestor by the representatives of all the *tsu* families and other times only segments, such as the families of several brothers, who alone come together to worship their own more recent ancestor. On the other hand, representatives of the entire *tsu* membership participate in funeral rituals in one capacity or another, depending upon their relationship with the deceased. However, the actual mourning during and after the funeral is actively participated in only by the much smaller immediate family of the deceased, including all lineal relatives, and perhaps extending out to no more than the first or perhaps second degree or grade of collaterality. Thus, the *wu fu* (or five mourning grades) at best operates in Hsin Hsing in a much watered-down version. The other ceremonial and festive or social occasions in which the entire *tsu* membership, or representatives of each member family, participate or cooperate is at the time of a marriage and certain other life cycle events, such as the rite when a boy reaches the age of sixteen.

618 171 114 476 But what we have seen among the Hsin Hsing *tsu* is quite beyond what Fei relates about patrilineal kinship groups in Kaihsienkung (in the Yangtze valley) which he calls "*Tsu*." The *Tsu* in Kaihsienkung, Fei tells us, "can be taken as no more than a ceremonial group which assembles periodically at wedding and funeral occasions, taking a common feast, offering sacrifices to the common ancestors together, and contributing a small sum barely enough to cover the food. Real social obligations of mutual aid exist between smaller groups, such as brothers with newly divided households" (1939:85). Therefore the *Tsu* as a larger kinship group appears to take little part in nonceremonial activities such as the economic or especially the sociopolitical activities and functions in which the Hsin Hsing village *tsu* actually do participate as single organizations.

618 [171] To a degree, however, there is similarity between the Kaihsienkung *Tsu* and the *tsu* of Hsin Hsing in their nonparticipation in economic activities. As we have noted, most of the Hsin Hsing *tsu* are small, not particularly well-off financially, and have a minimum of social differentiation. Only the large K'ang *tsu* has maintained any corporate landholdings, and even there the income is so small that no ancestral hall has ever been built, nor has the income been used for educational or welfare purposes beyond allowing its own poorest member families alternately to rent the lineage land when land was at a premium. Primarily, the income has gone to help in maintaining the *tsu*

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

ceremony and, especially, to obtain the god of the earth's permission to break the earth and to ask him to accept the body. Once the burial is completed, all return to the village where an elaborate dinner is held for all those who participated in any stage of the funeral.

Several weeks after the burial, on a date set by a geomancer, the members of the mourning family reconvene at the cemetery to dedicate the tombstone. They again wear white mourning clothes, and a ritual is conducted by the same geomancer-shaman.

Mourning

After a death, the descendants usually observe heavy mourning for forty-nine days (seven weeks). During this period they worship the spirit of the deceased twice each day, at sunrise and sunset, coming together to wail and chant as they did on the day of the funeral.

On the hundredth day after the death, or sometimes after one year, another mourning ritual is held. On this day it is common to burn the temporary paper ancestral tablet and transfer the dead person's name and death day to the family's permanent wooden ancestral tablet. Until very recently, the name was placed on a small permanent wooden tablet instead of on the temporary paper one, which made it unnecessary to transfer the name to the main family tablet. It is also on the hundredth day that the mourning family sends sweet cakes to everyone who sent money or gifts at the time of the death. The sweet cakes are a symbolic message "that things are now better."

For three years after the death, patrilineal descendants of the deceased are supposed to wear the lengths of colored yarn to show they are mourning. At the end of this period, they usually wear red yarn for a few days just to show that things are now good again. Actually, in the village the colored mourning yarn is most frequently worn for only a year. It is also customary during this three-year mourning period for the women to wail at the grave when the family goes to the cemetery each Ch'ing Ming Chieh (a holiday early in April) to clean the graves and offer sacrifices.

If in the years following a death the family has not been able to produce a boy child or has been in financial difficulties or poor health, they may have the grave dug up and the coffin moved to a new and more propitious spot determined by a geomancer. This takes place at least three years, but usually more than ten years, after the death. Specialists from Lukang or from some other village are hired for such an occasion. These men, in the presence of the closest relatives of the deceased, pick out each bone, clean it, and attach it in a special order to a short charcoal pole which is placed in a tall ceramic pot. The pot is then reburied in the new grave and a new tombstone, engraved with the date of reburial, is set up.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

765 777 775 Actually, few people go to the trouble and expense of reburial. Those who take this unusual step do so only because they believe that their misfortune is attributable to one or both of two causes: the initial burial was made in an unlucky spot, so that the spirit of the earth was disturbed and is therefore troubling the family, or the spirit of the dead person is unhappy in that spot.

76 182 The rituals connected with death are numerous and complicated, and most of the survivors, not understanding why they are supposed to do many of the things required during the funeral ceremony, simply follow directions given by the old people and the *tao shih*. In most instances the old people themselves disagree about the meaning of the various parts of the rituals. However, whether or not they understand the reasons or purposes of the rituals, the village families follow directions "because it is filial to do these things, and it is also good for the ancestors and for ourselves."

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5 Peihotien

people from saying of his family "they are just like us now" was typical of both his mother's and his uncle's attitude toward the kind of standards they should maintain in the eyes of their neighbors. But for Lim A-pou, the standards, if simpler, were certainly more rigid, and Lim Chieng-cua did not always behave in accordance with her standards.

Beyond this, there was still the influence of Lim Han-ci. Ancestral tablets occupy a prominent place in the homes of Peihotien, and given the stimulation of daily rituals, one might expect that memories of the dead occupy a prominent place in the thoughts of the living. But Lim Han-ci's influence on the lives of his descendants is something more than can be explained in terms of ancestor worship. My husband was particularly impressed by this on a day when he joined the family in a climb into the mountains behind Tapu to clean Lim Han-ci's grave. Although the entire family was present, it was not marked by the strain characteristic of their dealings with each other on every other day of the year. They were naturally somewhat hesitant about making jokes at one another's expense, so accustomed had they become to quarreling, but much to my husband's surprise, they all joined in on the fun of making jokes about the presence of a foreigner. Playing on the Chinese way of referring to all foreigners as "foreign ghosts," Lim Chieng-cua wondered what his father would think about their bringing a ghost to help clean his grave, and Lim A-bok laughingly suggested that since all of the people in the village called my husband Lim anyway, they might just introduce him as an adopted son. This kind of light-heartedness continued all through the day. If one had not known the family at home, it would be easy to think that no discord existed among them. Perhaps it would not be too far-fetched to imagine that on this one day when their thoughts were all turned toward Lim Han-ci, they were embarrassed to reveal even to themselves what had happened to his family since he had left them.

The day we left Peihotien, our pedi-cab bristling with suitcases and gifts, Lim A-pou and her sister-in-law, Lim Chui-ieng, stood together in the doorway of the house of Lim to bow farewell. The next day at the Taipei Airport, Lim Chieng-cua, confident and at ease in a well-tailored dark suit, wished us a good voyage and a speedy return. He was accompanied by his nephew, A-bok, looking uncomfortable in the suit he usually wore only at New Year, shifting his calloused, work-stained hands as though they were an embarrassing

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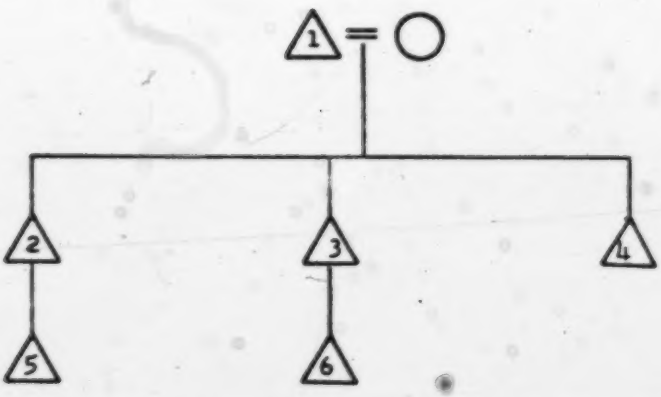

Figure 9. Kinship Diagram, Patrilineal Descent Group

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561 At the beginning of this discussion related to Figure 9, exceptions to equal inheritance were mentioned. In addition to the variation just described for the senior generation, there is one for the junior generation. In the junior generation, only (5), the oldest son's oldest son, receives a share but it is not the equal of the others. It is often quite minor, varying for individual cases, but everyone in the village agrees that this individual should have something in spite of the fact his siblings and cousins receive nothing. This boy also has special ritual requirements for his grandfather's funeral, i.e., he wears the mourning clothes of a son instead of the mourning clothes of a grandson.

• [765]

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59 Inheritance would be about the same as the above description for division. Assuming the old man (1) dies,

585 wedding of an adopted-in husband is nearly the mirror image of this, the wedding feast held at the home of the bride.

184 585 Of course, many marriages are not this elaborate. In the case of a marriage between very poor people, many older people living alone, or if between a son and adopted daughter, there may be no marriage party or ritual recognition at all. Villagers refer to these kinds of marriage 587 as "putting the shoes under the bed" (See Glossary C). The latter type is also common for remarriage after divorce or death of a spouse for there is some disapproval of a second marriage, but nevertheless, everyone agrees a man or woman with small children must remarry fairly quickly. Only 586 people with older children regularly fail to remarry. In a divorce, children are expected to remain with the father or, if he was an adopted-in husband, shared between father and mother.

587 The remarriage of a widow with children is expected to be with an adopted-in husband. By bearing a child, a woman has been fully incorporated into her first husband's family who will therefore probably play a part in the selection of the second husband. The second husband agrees to provide financial support for her previous children and if she had had several (which would likely reduce her marriage prospects), one may be given in adoption to a second husband as a marriage inducement.

587 165 There is no long period of mourning holding up a remarriage. The day after the funeral of a miner killed in

587 Erhlei during our stay, the whole area was rife with gossip
[765] as to who her new husband would be. Since she had three children, one recently born, and could not continue alone, marriage would be expected as soon as a suitable suitor
[162] could be found, perhaps in a few weeks. Given the sex ratio, females have an advantage over males in obtaining a never-married spouse for a second partner and the overall shortage of women in the area has probably added to the elevation of their status.

Married Life

593 There is much less originally expected from a spouse after marriage than in America, i.e., only respect and a level of nurture but it appears that more is received. Villagers say, "If love and excitement come or if the two people enjoy talking together, that would be nice" (See Glossary C). Companionship may be provided by other members of the family, neighbors or for a man by his sworn brothers or for a woman by her age cohorts in the village; love could come from the same people and surely from the children. Of course, if two people live together intimately on a basis of respect and care, love nearly always comes and if it does not, it was never really necessary nor expected and the marriage can be a success in spite of the void.

581 The marriage usually starts in very strained circumstances for in a majority of the cases, the couple have little personal knowledge of each other, perhaps not even

761 other part of the house and the funeral must be celebrated
764 in the courtyard outside the house.

761 An accidental death always generates much additional
775 fear in the village area for it is said that the spirit of a man who dies in violence is very angry and will always take another person with him for company, i.e., someone else in the village will quickly die after an accidental death. There was one miner killed in a mine cave-in during our stay in the village and his body remained out in the courtyard. Although villagers prefer internment within two days at the most, his body lay out three days because the government insurance inspectors who had to view his body before releasing the insurance proceeds were delayed. Before the funeral was over, indeed, in the midst of the ceremony, a small child in the village died of pneumonia. Everyone agreed that the death was due to the spirit of the dead miner and although saddened by the death of the baby, everyone was greatly relieved for the danger was now over as the spirit's need for a victim was sated.

764 There is a public cemetery started by the Japanese
[177] in the Wulei area which permits free burials for Talei Li
[435] residents and charges $25.00 for outsiders. About seven
765 years after burial, if there are descendants, the body is exhumed and a specialist puts the bones in a special ceramic pot in the proper order as if the individual were in an upright position. This pot is then placed in a good location

765 in Sanlei Ts'un, one which possess good feng shui coordinates. A few bodies are placed directly after death in family burial plots but this is relatively rare. More often, if the family owns a burial plot with elaborate accoutrements, the body is first buried in the Wulei cemetery, exhumed after seven years as described, and the pot of bones is then placed in the family site rather than in an individual unique location.

769 Following the funeral, worship of the individual is directed towards a special side-wall table for the first twelve months. At the end of the year, the tablet, if any, and worship and objects are transferred to the regular ancestral table. The period following death is still considered a part of the normal life cycle for even though he is dead, the individual may continue to influence village affairs. He will probably be worshipped separately on his death anniversary for a number of years, the length of time varying in accordance with his age at death and the family status.

Eventually, worship directed towards an individual will be merged with that for the other ancestors and rather than on his own death anniversary, he will be worshipped on the regular days set aside for all ancestors in general. As the generations pass, memory of him will gradually be lost, and by the fifth descending generation, little more than his name will likely be left in the memory of villagers.